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valley. As will be later explained in more detail in connection with the *fiestas* of the *barrios*, these *fiestas* render expressive the *esprit de corps* of the villages. A strong feeling of group solidarity develops, and not a little feeling of competition, each village priding itself on the merits of its *santo* and the splendor of its *fiesta*.

At the same time a traditional pattern of co-operation among villages unites them as against mere visitors from outside the valley. On the occasion of very important *fiestas*, given in small hamlets, as, for example, the annual *fiesta* of Ixcatepec, the *mayordomos* charged with the care of the *santos* in Tepoztlán and the neighboring villages meet and agree to distribute the burden of an eight-day *fiesta* among the group. Each *mayordomo* then becomes responsible for one day for the care of the *santo* of Ixcatepec, and undertakes to provide the candles burned that day. Everyone from Tepoztlán goes to Ixcatepec, and the *fiesta* is thought of as a *fiesta* of the whole community. The cockfights attending the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec may then be held as Tepoztlán *vs.* Cuernavaca, or Tepoztlán *vs.* Yautepec.

Such institutions integrate into a single community a number of more or less independent villages with special cultures and traditions. The term for "countryman" (*paisano*) more often than not means an inhabitant of Tepoztlán or one of the satellite villages, and will not be applied to a man from outside the immediate valley.

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The *Chinelos*[1] leap down to the *plaza*. They leap around and around the *plaza*, occasionally emitting loud whoops. They wear long gowns of satin, blue or pink or yellow, with a square cape hanging from the shoulder. The color and the design of the embroidery vary, but each dancer wears the same long gown with a cape, the same staring mask with recurved black beard of horsehair, the same huge *sombrero*, beaded

and surmounted with an ostrich plume. Each wears gloves and carries a handkerchief filled with confetti.

Hour after hour the leaping continues. The bands take turns playing. At intervals dance music is played and the *Chinelos* dance together in couples. Hundreds of people sit or stand on the edges of the *plaza*, watching the spectacle. When dark comes, the gasoline lamps are lit and each vendor of cakes and drinks along the *plaza* lights a candle. The *Chinelos*, in many cases fortified with alcohol, continue to leap around and around the *plaza*. Men too poor to belong to *com-*

[1] This word is probably from *Chino*, "Chinese", "foreign." When used in speaking Nahuatl it is Mexicanized as *Zinelohque*. The word *Huehuenches* is also used—from the Nahuatl *Huehuetzitzin*, "the old ones" (said with respect). It is said by some in Tepoztlán that the *Chinelos* represent the Pharisees "who denied Christ."

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476 653 [624] [463] The municipal government, it has already been suggested, is more formal than actual; and there are few special functionaries in charge of public repairs and improvements. The *ayuntamiento* employs men to care for the building in which the government has its offices, and to sweep and water the central *plaza*. But other repairs and maintenance operations are performed by individuals or groups of neighbors particularly concerned. If a water tank is dirty, it remains so until someone who draws water there is moved to spend the time and labor necessary to clean it. Tasks requiring many men and involving several techniques and kinds of materials are done by men living in the [621] *barrio* where the repair must be made. If the proposed work is considerable, the consent of the *ayuntamiento* must first be obtained. This is, however, almost entirely formal. The local government does not pay for the work out of local funds or employ workmen. For example, when in 1927 a new set of stone troughs for washing clothes was put up where the *barrio* of La Santísima meets that of Santa Cruz, one of the *ayudantes* living in Santa Cruz asked consent of the *presidente*. A few of the elder men of the two *barrios* organized a party to make the repairs. One contributed the lime; another hauled the sand; others labored for a day or more. The *ayuntamiento* con- [273] tributed nothing but the *aguardiente*.

[651] [192] [491] Such co-operative labor is stereotyped, and bears the special name *cuatequitl*. This word is from the ordinary word for work (*tequitl*) and a root meaning

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl*. The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl*. So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta*. Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

Cuatequitl is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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body of public knowledge, of positive practices, which are fixed, traditional, and, in general, magical. 755

The extent to which manifestations of the morbid are segregated and distinguished as diseases is nowhere very definitely fixed. The number of diseases known is determined simply by the number of names. Any cluster of symptoms may be isolated and given a name; a new disease is thereby created. So the extent to which diseases and treatments are discriminated in Tepoztlán probably varies greatly with the experience and special interests of the individual. It would seem advisable, therefore, to exhaust the medical knowledge of a number of individuals separately, in order to describe the range of medical knowledge in Tepoztlán. In the present preliminary investigation this was not done. The materials come largely from two informants, a *tonta* and a *correcto*. Both described essentially the same symptoms and the same treatments for the more conspicuous diseases. The educated man knew little about herbal remedies, but made more distinctions in medical terminology.[1] The less educated woman showed detailed familiarity with the manifestations and mode of treatment of the diseases designated below as "folk diseases" and a vast acquaintance with herbal medicine. 753 [565]

Of the diseases recognized and treated in Tepoztlán [757]

[1] Fever generally is known as *totonializtli*. Typhoid is *cocolotzintli*, malaria is *atonahuiztli*, pneumonia is *ahcolcocoliztli* ("sickness of the shoulders"). *Ihtecualiztli* is dysentery. *Tzintecopalicihuiztli* is diarrhea with tenesmus. *Yexhuetsi* is hemorrhage. *Necoxonilli* is probably hernia. *Tzompilahuiztli* is catarrh. *Tlatlaziztli* is an ordinary cough; *chichitlatlaziztli* is a hard, racking cough ("a dog's cough"). [192]

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554 565 are the basic factors in social differentiation, while differences in wealth, education, and living standards distinguish individuals but not cohesive social groups.

SEX AND AGE

562 Sex and age differences are the basic factors in the ascription of status and in the structuring of inter-personal relations. Male superiority is accepted as part of the [593] order of things. Women are expected to show deference and respect to men; wives to husbands, sisters to brothers. Sexual differentials are marked in the rearing of children, in the division of labor, and in the privileges and responsibilities of individuals at each stage of the life cycle. Men assume all important leadership roles, economic, political, social, and religious. The double standard in sexual relations is practiced by men, and is generally accepted by women. However, women have comparatively high status; they may own and inherit property, participate in religious life, and as mothers enjoy an important role within the home.

561 The principle of respect for age is second only to that of male superiority. Young people must address older people by the respectful *Vd.*, and in turn are addressed ● 192 by the more familiar *tú*. The basic age divisions or statuses recognized in the vil- [195] lage are five: (1) *criatura* (infant), until about age two or weaning time; (2) *niño* (child), from two to about twelve; (3) *jóvenes, muchacho, muchacha,* or señorita, from about twelve until marriage; (4) *adulto* or *hombre* (man) and *mujer* (woman), from marriage in the case of a man, and after having one or two children in the case of a young married girl; (5) *anciano* or *viejo* (the aged).

858 The infant status is by far the most privileged. Infants get a great deal of attention and care. Notwithstanding the widespread preference for boys, there are practically no sexual differentials in the treatment accorded infants.

[856] The child status is an extended one, and the development of the child is viewed [867] as a slow process which must not be unduly hurried. In the early years the child is [868] expected to learn the all-important virtues of obedience and respect for parents, older siblings, and other adults. Responsibilities and work are assumed earlier by girls than by boys, but in both cases it is generally gradual. Nevertheless, the period of childhood is a relatively difficult one. It is a time when punishments are given, when play must be gradually restricted and finally eliminated. It is also the period of greatest demands and least rewards.

882 The period of youth is the time when both boys and girls assume adult work roles. They are not viewed as adults, however, and do their work under the supervision of their parents. The sexual differentials in this stage are very sharp, and boys have much more personal freedom than girls. This period of youth is generally longer for boys than girls, since the latter marry earlier. Young men, however, may not hold public office or be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the barrio.

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121 554 565 tive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, that draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each class and stratifies a whole society." Cf. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1949), p. 349. It will become apparent to the reader that Tepoztlán has no classes in the above sense. However, in terms of the Warner approach, many classes and subclasses might be found in Tepoztlá-.

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18 *adolescence, courtship, and marriage:*

882 The period between childhood and adulthood is relatively ill-defined in Tepoztlán and unmarked by special occasion or ceremony. In the recent past, this interim was 192 brief or non-existent for girls. Until about age twelve, girls were called *niña* or *sisigwa,* [881] and from twelve to fourteen they were *señorita* or *ichpokame.* But because of early marriage most girls passed directly from *niña* to *señora. Señoritas* who did not [589] marry soon were *solteras* or *ichpokath.* At the present time in Tepoztlán, girls are *niñas* until about age fifteen and are *señoritas* between about fifteen and twenty. Though girls over twenty are still *señoritas* they are viewed as *solteras.* Both the 882 period of childhood and marriageability have been lengthened by several years. A [582] majority of the parents withdraw their daughters from school at about twelve, the age at which girls were married a generation ago. This practice extends the interim period rather than childhood, because girls of twelve and over conduct themselves more like *señoritas* than like *niñas.*

The situation was and is quite different for boys, who, unlike girls, were not hurried into adulthood by early marriage. In the past, as well as now, boys are [192] called *muchachos* or *piltontle* from about age seven to seventeen or eighteen. There is no native term to differentiate any periods within this wide age range. After seventeen or eighteen, boys are called *jóvenes, muchachos,* or *telpokath.* This period [582] varies considerably in length, since there is no set or recommended age for marriage for boys. Compared with girls, the change in age status of boys occurs later, more gradually, and with less strain. Today the development of boys is even slower because the assumption of full-time adult work, which for many in the past took place at about ten years of age, now generally occurs at fifteen. Childhood, or the [872] period of play and education, has thus been lengthened, and boys may go to school as late as fourteen years of age without incurring criticism.

ADOLESCENCE

883 The intermediate period between childhood and adulthood begins to have the characteristics of adolescence, as we know it, and some of the better educated people in Tepoztlán now use this term. There are, however, several fundamental differ-